# MEW NATIONAL ERA.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, Editor

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THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1872.

#### The Judgment of the People.

Our victory turns out to be a great deal more sweeping than the most sanguine Re-publican could have dreamed, and every day shows the majorities to be larger than first ed. No one had the remotest hope that Virginia and Delaware would so far forsake their antecedents as to go Republican; yet from the returns thus far received, it does not appear as if Mr. Greeley had carried more than six-possibly seven States, and even these with greatly reduced majorities, while all over the North the Republican triumph is entirely unprecedented. This result in itself is the most emphatic and striking refutation of all the dodges and slanders with which our opponents endeavored to confuse and lead astray the public mind. as well as a scathing rebuke to their authors It discloses at once the hollowness of the howl about the sufferings of the poor, downtrodden, and oppressed South, the victims of Republican misrule and tyranny; for those victims themselves have virtually given it the lie. Instead of grasping eagerly the hands that were stretched out so ostentatiously over the bloody chasm, they have voluntarily decided to submit to that misru and tyranny for four years longer. This result likewise disposes, at one blow, of all the drummed-up charges of corruption, dishonesty, and incapability, since the people have voted just those very incapable corruptionists again into office, instead of their users, who in the name of offended virtue, for more than six months offered them all the patent medicines which they had manufactured for the occasion.

The most cheering and significant feature of this verdict of the nation, however, is the glorious vindication of the principle of popular sovereignty, which has asserted itself in unsurpassed grandeur. In this campaign, of all others, the judgment and intelligence of the people were put to a test quite as much as their devotion to Republican principles. Formerly the party lines were strongly marked; the issues of the different parties were the tendencies of the representative men had been embodied in their antecedents. Thus the candidates were the declared representatives either of liberty or slavery, protection or free trade, payment of the national debt or its repudiation, equal rights or a white man's government, and every voter knew exactly on which side to cast his ballot. This time, on the contrary, the Liberal leaders had done everything in their power to obliterate the old party lines. As they could not tell the people how they were chiefly prompted by personal resentment, unscrupulous ambition and love of power, and yet had no issues to set forth which would have warranted the formation of a new party, they were compelled to resort to dodges, sophisms and falsifications of every description, and to muddle the question, as they thought, beyond the power of the discrimination of the masses. Never before such allurements and blandsments were held out to entrap the people. Eloquent appeals to their sense of honesty and magnanimity were made by men whom they had known and honored for years as representatives of the Republican party, and fraud, perpetrated through the aid of money from the outset they had been assured so solemply and emphatically that the Cincinnati novement was entirely and exclusively Reonviction and virtue were sailing under false cation of a morbid ambition. olors. There was apparently no vital difrence between the two platforms, and if it ad not been for the Liberal State rights lause, it would have been difficult to answer satisfactorily the question which was so frequently and defiantly asked: What fault we, the Republicans, had to find with the platform? A few good men were enticed, who might have known better, and whose loss we sincerely regret; ut how small, how infinitesimal their umber is, compared to the more than seven hundred thousand majority of stizens who on the 5th of November asserted their superior sagacity as well as their unfaltering levotion to the cause of liberty, justice and equality, and thus have again demonstrated to the world how the American people can he trusted as the faithful and reliable preservers of Republican institutions and principles

### Shall the Colored People of the United States Know Full Liberty !

A great battle between progress and reaction culminated on the 5th instant in a victory for the party of progress. The conflict had been raging nearly six months, and durng all that time never for an instant did the sarty of progress exhibit a sign of fear as to he final result. They have won a most lorious victory under the standard of radical principles; principles which, if carried out, will forever settle the vexing questions con stantly arising out of the injustice of the white people in this country toward the

The thirteenth amendment to the United States Constitution in a manner freed the siaves, but did not accord to them that full berty enjoyed by the white people; it was sot until two amendments had been added, with sections providing for the enforcement of the amendments by appropriate legislaion, that the means were given through which full liberty could be accorded to the slored people of the nation. That approriate legislation has not been had that will we complete liberty to the colored people of this country, and we look earnestly and anxously to Congress for laws that will make black man as free in every part of the United ates as is a white man. The people of the nited States have by an overwhelming majority in the election of last week endorsed and adopted the following plank of the Phila lphia platform:

The recent amendments to the nation onstitution should be cordially sustain ne recent amendments to the national orativation should be cordially sustained cause they are right, not merely tolerated cause they are law, and should be carried a according to their spirit by appropriate gislation."

The people demand appropriate legislation ompletion of the emancipation of

fully up to the rack of persecution and outrage and gave their votes to the Republica party, because they believed that through the triumph of that party their full liberty would be secured. Are they to be disap pointed? Are we to have more Savannal outrages, Ku-Klux intimidations, such as Georgia presented us in October? The an swer is with Congress, and with the present Congress. What stronger warrant to give full liberty to all can the present Congress wish than has been given by the people or the 5th instant. The people have declared that complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights should be established and effectually aintained throughout the Union by efficien and appropriate State and Federal legislation Neither the law nor its administration should admitany discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude." By the ratification of the above plank of the Philadelphia platform the people have demanded the passage of a measure of complete freedom; and such measure has found the best expression in Senator Sumner's Supplementary Civil Rights Bill, which should have become a law at the last session of Congress, and we believe but for the timidity of Republicans would have been now upon our statute books. The fear of losing votes in the Presidential election can not operate now. The people have spoken, and in their speech they call for that appropriate legislation, State and Federal, that will give "complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political and public rights" to all, without distinction of race or color. Will the present Congress feel bound to obey the command o the people? If it does the day is not far distant when the question shall the colored people of the United States know full liberty will be gratifyingly answered.

## The Tribune Still in the Slander A triumph of such magnitude as the Re

publicans have just achieved has a natural endency to render the victorious party mag nanimous, and indeed we should like nothi better than to leave our defeated opponent to recover from their wounds, and rebuild, as best they can, their fallen fortunes and reputations in the pursuit of useful and honorable occupations; but unfortunately some of the most conspicuous among them seem by no means ready to take their rout as the result of the true and honest verdict of the people. The Tribune, in an article published on the 6th of November, has the audacity to assert that the issue had been decided by untold millions of money which had been spent to carry the State elections often diametrically opposed to each other, and which preceded the Presidential election in one word, that the American people re elected General Grant for the sake of money Indeed, it is hard to decide which is greatest the malice, the result, or the absurdity o this charge. If the Tribune were scolding at the whole nation for not appreciating the superior wisdom and virtue of Mr. Greeley, we should take it as a matter of course an pass over it with a smile; but when it dares to accuse the people generally of being mercenary, it deserves at least a passing notice especially as the charge is not the mere fruit of mortification and disappointment, but is manifestly made in bad falth, for Mr. Greeley, as well as his personal organist, knows full well that even if the people were for sale, there would not have been millions enough within the reach of any party to purchase the enormous majorities which were rolled up in this campaign. In closely contested States, where a hundred votes may decide the struggle, money may have been brought to bear on them at times, though certainly not on this occasion; large cities, the receptacles of the refuse of all nations, could be carried by before the enactment of the present election laws; but the idea that the whole nation should be at the disposal of the highest bidablican in its character, that indeed, it der, could only originate in the brains of men cemed to require more than average discrim- who themselves had sold out their convic nation to perceive that all those heroes of tions, principles, and friends for the gratifi-

## What Has Become of Him?

Many men have become disabled in the never be seen in the field again; some have been crippled for life, while others have mysteriously disappeared, and ought to be men tioned as "missing," though in fact we know at this moment but of a single one whom we really miss in our midst, and whose loss we should sincerely regret. This is our good friend, the arithmetical man of the Tribune What has become of him? Since the October elections we have looked in vain for his profound calculations, through which he succeeded to figure gains out of losses, and to predict tidal-waves of Democratic victories out of defeats. And again, we have been disappointed in our hope to see him appear on the morning after the Presidential election and prove by averages how the Republican majority of seven hundred thousand votes is a clear indication of just as sweeping a Democratic victory in 1876. We should apprehend that for once he had been overrhelmed by the tremendous weight of our figures, if we did not know his bravery, his dependence of public opinion, which he has manifested by being invariably on the losing side. We are, consequently, seriously alarmed, lest some mishap may have befallen him; and in our solicitude we ask again, What has

## The Christian Recorder.

come of him?

If the Christian Recorder will print the whole sentence to a part of which it objects, it will see that Frederick Douglass distinctly recognizes the possibility of a black minister of the gospel. One who says amen to his own degradation, is hardly more than would-be minister.

Frederick Douglass has no abuse for blace ministers as such, and we are surprised to see the Christian Recorder revive its old velvety brown falsehood with a view to create prejudice against an old fellow-laborer in th cause of human equality. The Christian Record-r takes offense at any reference of ours in regard to color, but he has nothing to say against the Bible in which the negro is lassed with the leopard as little able t hange his color as the latter his spots, in plying that even among the prophets of his religion that the negro's color was a hated

Let Brother Tanner answer his Bible suc essfully and we shall have some patience with his references to us on the black ques

BISHOP SAMPSON TALBOT will preach sermon on the death of Bishop J. W. Loguen he colored people. Shall we have that on Sunday, the 17th instant, at John Wesley egislation? The colored people stood man-

### A Triumph for American Industry.

Though the most important result of the Presidential election just ended is the guarantee it has given the country of a continunce, for four years more, of an honest and nical administration of the Government, of protection to the loyal people of the South against Democratic lawlessness, vio lence, and outrage, and of a wise and conciliatory fereign policy, there are other con siderations which will render the overwhelming triumph of the Republican party a source of the sincerest gratification to all true Amer icans. And one of them is the practical approval by the people of the policy of protection to American industry which President Grant has so strongly recommended in his message to Congress, and the assurance it gives to American manufactories, working men, and all other industrial classes, that the tariff will be no further tampered with by Congress. A serious blow was truck by the last Congress to one of our important branches of industry to appease the clamor of foreign manufacturers and of our own importers for free trade in salt. It was to give the people salt a great deal cheaper than it had ever been before. But as yet it has accomplished no such result, nor is it likely to do any such thing. What it has done is greatly to cripple the salt manufacturers of New York and Michigan by bringing the Canadian manu facturers into free competition with them.

Whatever temporary effect this may have in cheapening the price of salt to the Amer ican consumer, it is certain that the end will be an increase in price. When the Canadians have succeeded in breaking down our manufactories, as they are in a fair way to do, they will be able to command their own prices.

A similar blow was struck at our bitu minous coal interest, and in a smaller degree at iron manufactures. But circumstance have combined to avert from these interests the disastrous consequences the reduction o duty on salt brought upon those engaged in its production. All this sort of trifling with the prosperity and independence of the country for the benefit of our foreign rivals has received a rebuke from the people that will ffectually end it.

One of the main planks in the Greeley-Copperhead platform was the reference of the questions of protection to American industry to the people. The issue was squarely presented to them by the Cincinnati and the Baltimore Conventions, whether the policy which has been pursued by the Republican party since it has had control of the Government, and under which the country has made such rapid progress in wealth and prosperity, should be continued or abandoned. Their response to the appeal has been to send almost a united Republican delegation to Congress in nearly every manufacturing State, or every State largely engaged in manufactures. Every New England State which has chosen members of Congress has elected nearly a solid Republican protective delegation. Pennsylvania has given one hundred and thirty thousand majority for Grant on that issue, Michigan fifty thousand, Connecticut four housand, New Jersey fourteen thousand, Rhode Island eight thousand, and so on

The people felt that the destruction of the policy of protection to our industry would be calamity to the country only second to the defeat of the policy of protection to the lives, liberty, and property of the loyal people of the South and a continuance of honesty, conomy, and fidelity, generally, in the adninistration of the Government. And no class felt this so painfully, or foresaw the evil more clearly, than the workingmen of the nation. They looked upon free trade as a measure more certain to reduce the price of wages than any other commodity, and that if it should result in cheapening the price of some of the necessaries of life, it would not compensate for the degradation of labor sure to follow. Almost everywhere, therefore, aborers engaged in manufactures, voted neary unanimously for Gen. Grant, and Republican members of Congress. There is no fear, therefore, that the next Congress will legislate for the benefit of free trade, if they do not undo the mischief done by the present Congress.

## the Popular Majority.

mined. But below we give an estimate, ceived, which will not vary far from the actual result. At any rate, it will be near nough to give our readers a tolerably correct idea of the terrible power of the "tidal wave" which has swept Greeleyism out of existence, and washed Democracy so far up salt river that it will be many long years before it can return.

Gen. Grant's majorities are in-

Maine	28,0
New Hampshire	5,0
Vermont	30,0
Massachusetts	73,0
Rhode Island	8,0
Connecticut	4.
New York	55,0
New Jersey	14,0
Pennsylvania	
Dolowero	100,0
Virginia	5,0
North Carolina	20,0
South Carolina	35.6
Alabama	15,0
Missississi	
	85,0
T-1'	42,0
Indiana	23,0
	55,0
	2,5
michigan	50,0
Florida	4,0
	60,0
	15,0
	25,0
Oregon	2,0
Kansas	30,0
Nevada	1,0
Nebraska	8,0
Total of Grant's majority	784.0
	Maine Maine New Hampshire Vermont Massachusetts. Rhode Island Connecticut New York New York New Jersey Pennsylvania Delaware. Virginia. North Carolina South Carolina South Carolina Indiana Illinois. Arkansas Michigan Florida Iowa Wisconsin California Minnesota Oregon Kansas Nevada

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Total of Grant's majority	784,00
For Greeley—	
Maryland	
Georgia	12,00
Kentucky	10,00
Tennessee	10,00
Missouri	24.00
Texas	
Total of Greeley's majority	72,20
West Virginia and Louisiana in doubt	

### themselves in favor of Republicanism. Popular Vote at Previous Elections.

A majority of more than seven bundred thou

As a matter of interest to our readers at he present time, and to enable them to make comparison between the popular vote at the election just held and previous Presidential elections, we select some statistics upon this subject from the Philadelphia Press. In the first Presidential election held in 1788 under the Constitution, at which only ten States voted, the choice of electors in all save one (Virginia) was made by the Legislatures. Of the sixty-nine electoral

one. In the second election for President, in 1792, Washington again received all the electoral votes, 130. In the third, at which he declined to be a candidate John Adams was elected after a hard struggle, receiving 71 out of the 138 votes. In the fourth election, with every State voting for electors after its own fashion, the Electoral College was divided into 77 votes for Thomas Jeffer-son, and 77 for Aaron Burr, and the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. The end of that memorable struggle was the choice of Thomas Jefferson for President, and a constitutional amendment preventing the recurrence of such a state of affairs in the future. In the fifth election Thomas Jefferson was again successful, receiving 164 out of 178 electoral votes. In the sixth election James Madison received 122 out of 176 votes. In the seventh he had 128 to 89 for De Witt Clinton. James Monroe, his successor, had at his first election 183 to 34 for Rufus King, and at his second 228 to 1 for John Quincy Adams, almost a unanimous vote. In 1824 Andrew Jackson received 99 votes, John Quincy Adams 84, W. H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 87. The election devolved upon the House of Representatives, and Adams was chosen by the vote of Kentucky, cast by

Mr. Clay. Since that time the vote has

stood as follows:

1828. Andrew Jackson Democrat	17
1828. John Q. Adams Federal	8
1832. Andrew Jackson Democrat	21
1832. Henry Clay Whio	. 4
1832. John Floyd Whig	1
1832. William Wirt Whig	
1832. John Floyd         Whig           1832. William Wirt         Whig           1836. Martin Van Buren         Democrat	17
1836 W. H. Harrison Whig	. 7
1836 Hugh L. White Whig	5
1836 . Hugh L. White Whig	. 1
1836 . W. P. Mangum Whig	1
1840 Martin Van BurenDemocrat.	
1340. W. H. HarrisonWhig	23
1840 James G. Birney Liberty 1844 James K. Polk Democrat	
1844. James K. Polk Democrat.	17
1844. Henry ClayWhig	10
1844. James G. Birney Liberty	
1848 Zachary Taylor Whig	10
1848 Lowis Cass Democrat	- 16
1848 Martin Van Buren Free Soil. 1852 Franklin Pierce Democrat	
1852 . Franklin Pierce Democrat .	25
1852Wintield ScottWhig	4
1852. John P. Hale Free Soil	
1856. James Buchanan Democrat .	17
1856. John C. Fremont Republican 1856. Millard Fillmore American .	11
1856Millard FillmoreAmerican.	
1860 Abraham Lincoln Republican	18
1860S. A. Douglas Democrat.	1
1860. J. C. Breckinridge Democrat. 1860. John Bell Union. 1864. Abraham Lincoln Republican	7
1860John Bell	:
1864. Abraham Lincoln Republicar	12
1804. Geo. B. McClellan Democrat.	
1868. U. S. Grant Republicar	12
1868. U. S. GrantRepublicat 1868. Horatio SeymourDemocrat.	1
At the election just held General (	

has received a larger relative majority of the popular vote, as well as of the electoral vote. than any other Presidential candidate since Monroe's election. His majority will not be less than 600,000, and of the Electoral College, consisting of 366 members, he will have 202 votes to Greeley's 74, being a majority of 218. Yet Greelev bolters and rebel Democrats declare that Grant is not a popular man, and has only been elected from indifference on the part of the people, or because be was the choice of evils. It is not strange that these men should attempt to give some reason for their awful defeat. But if they were half as ingenious as they proved themselves unscrupulous during the contest, they could invent something not quite so self-evidently stupid as this is.

### To Whom Honor is Due.

The New York Daily Times attributes to he efforts of Senator Conkling and Mr. Cornell, the Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, much of the credit of the great victory achieved in New York city and State. And the Republican of this city accords it to ex-Collector Murphy. All of these gentlemen undoubtedly deserve every word of commendation they receive from the press, for they all "did well, acted noblyingels could do no more." Senator Conkling, especially, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole Republican party for his untiring and successful labors during the canvass, and we are rejoiced that a Legislature has been elected largely in favor of continuing him in his present position.

But of all the influences which contributed to the glorious triumph in New York and the utter overthrow of the power of Tammany, none contributed so much, none deserves so The popular majority for Gen. Grant at much honor, as the New York Daily Times. recent great campaign. Some of them will the recent election is not yet officially deter- Unawed by power, uninfluenced by gain, the Times has waged a relentless war upon the based upon such returns as have been re- Tammany Ring, and all who contributed to its success, however high, or rich, or power ful; whether pretended Republicans, nonpartisan merchants, "independent" Democrats, or professional men. It has spared no one, whatever his position or party affinities or religious creed, who seemed to stand in the way of a thorough reform of the city gov ernment.

It may be said almost literally to have dic tated the nominations made of city officers and of Gen. Dix; and it certainly contributed by its great ability, its evident honesty of purpose, its manly independence, and its utpolitical considerations, that stood in the way of genuine reform, more to the regeneration of the city and State governments than

any other single influence. Asking and desiring no favors except such as are due to an able, honest, independent, and enterprising newspaper, it has been free to condemn and praise when and whom its sense of duty dictated. And this has given it a power and influence that no other paper ever possessed in this country, and equaled by none in the world, unless it may have been its London namesake. To the Republican party of the nation, as well as to the whole people of New York, the Times has rendered service that cannot be overestimated, and that entitles it to their practical recognition and gratitude.

## What the People Won't Forgive

If Mr. Greeley shall make the Tribune at "independent" journal in the legitimate sense of the term, and keep his pledge to treat President Grant and his administration with judicial fairness, his readers may possi bly forgive, if they do not forget, the gross dishonesty of that paper towards both, and its absolute want of justice, truth, and decency during the whole campaign just ended. sand of the people have, therefore, recorded But if they can forgive the reckless, unfair

and malignant course of the Tribune, Mr. Greeley can hardly expect that they will forive, much less forget, his own sacrifice of rinciples, his repudiation of all his past professions, his abuse of the soldiers who saved the Union, his apology for his opposition to slavery, his admission of his secession doctrines in one place and his denial of them in another, his defense of the rebel treatment of Union prisoners, or his denial of intended cruelty at Andersonville, Libby. Saulsbury, and other rebel prisons, and his efforts everywhere to palliate the outrages by rebels, and to make loyalty odious. Mr. Legislatures. Of the sixty-nine electoral Greeley must not expect this conduct will first time in years, as well as his own city of yotes, George Washington received every not be treasured up against him.

### The Next Congress.

alifornia.....

onnecticut.....

Delaware.....

Florida .....

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

The following table gives a correct list of the members of the Forty-third Congress re-turned by the election held the present year, with the exception of New Hampshire and Connecticut. They are yet to elect their nembers for the next Congress, and therefore we give the present delegation, which, in New Hampshire, is solid Democrat, and very likely to be changed at the next election, as they now stand. It will be seen that we have two-thirds majority again, as we already have in the Senate:

ı	Georgia	3	
١	Illinois	12	
ı	Indiana	9	
١	Iowa	9	
ı	Kansas		
1	Kentucky	3	
ı	Louisiana	3	
ı	Maine	5	
1	Maryland	2	
ı	Massachusetts	11	
١	Mississippi	5	
ı	Michigan	9	
ı	Minnesota	3	
	Missouri	6	
	Nevada	1	
	Nebraska	1	
	New Hampshire		-
	New Jersey	6	
	New York	25	
	North Carolina	3	
	Ohio	13	
	Oregon	1	
	Pennsylvania	22	
	Rhode Island	2	
	South Carolina	5	
	Texas	2 7	
	Tennessee	7	
	Vermont	3	
	Virginia	4	
	West Virginia	1	
	Wisconsm	6	
	D 4 1 0	16.76	

Total......202 In the present Congress, which terminates on the 4th of March next, there are one hundred and thirty-eight Republicans, and one hundred and five Democrats. The Republicans have therefore gained sixty-four members and the Democrats have lost fifteen-that is the Republicans have gained every one o the forty-nine additional members of which the House is composed under the new apportionment, and taking fifteen besides from the Democrats, making a net gain of sixty-four, as above. Every sorchead Republican deserter who permitted himself to be a candidate has been slaughtered, and the more malignant

Will not slanderers and traitors take warning from this terrible chastisement?

## Below will be found a statement of the re-

sult of the Presidential election on Tuesday week, and also the vote of 1868: Seymor

The Final Result

they were the worse they were defeated.

BIAILS.		our.		ey.
Mame	7	_	7	
New Hampshire	5	_	5	-
Vermont	5	-	5	_
	2		13	_
Rhode Island	4	-	4	-
Connecticut	6		6	_
New York	-	33	35	_
New Jersey	_	7	9	_
	26	-	29	
Delaware		7 3 7	3	-
Maryland	-	7	-	8
Virginia	_	_	11	_
North Carolina	9	-	10	_
South Carolina	6	-	7	
Georgia	-	9		11
Alabama	8	9 - 7	10	- 8 - 12
Mississippi	_		8	100
Louisiana		7	-	8
	21	11	22	
Kentucky	_	11		12
Tennessee	10		-	12
	13	222	15	_
	16		21	15
	11	-		15
Arkansas	5		6	-
Michigan	8	7777	11	
Florida	3	2.5	4	- 200
Texas	-	200	-	8
Iowa	8		11	
Wisconsin	8	-	10	-
California	5		6	_
Minnesota	4		5	
Oregon	-	3	3	0.00
Kansas	3	- 3 -	5	-
West Virginia	5	***	5	-
Nevada	3	****	3	
Nebraska	3	200	3	_
	1870			_
Total2	14	80	292	- 8 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

This gives Grant 29 States and 292 electoral votes, and Greeley 8 States and 74 electoral votes.

## "Remitted" to the People!

Mr. Greeley, through the Cincinnati and Baltimore Conventions, "remitted" the question of a protective tariff to the people, and they have responded by electing a large majority of protectionists to the next Congress. In Wayne county, Michigan, there has been an average Democratic majority of about a thousand for many years. At the recent ter disregard of all selfish, and even of all election the Republicans nominated for Congress Moses W. Field, an out and out advocate of a protective tariff. The Democratic-Greeleyites nominated a free trade Democrat amed Bagg. Field has been elected on that issue in a Democratic county by two thousand majority. Horace Maynard is one of the most earnest and devoted champions of the protective policy in Congress. He has just been elected Congressman-at-Large in the Democratic State of Tennessee by 10,000 plurality, while Kerr, a free trade member of Congress from Indiana, representing a deided Democratic district, has been defeated. Both are members of the Committee of Ways and Means. So it has been in many other places.

THOUGH Mr. Greeley, in accepting the comination of the Democratic National Convention, declared that he was no less a Republican than ever, and though his appeals for votes during the campaign were mainly to Republicans on the ground that he was a better Republican than General Grant, every Copperhead-rebel success at the election last week is exultantly proclaimed by his paper as a glorious victory, and set forth in prominent head-lines, while Republican successor are treated as disastrous defeats. And Mr. Greeley will attempt to convince the readers of the Tribune that he is still a Republican and has never been anything else! Of course they will believe him and forget the malignant and persistent warfare it has waged against Republican men and measures luring the canvass just ended, and of course they will continue to take the Tribune!

AUSTIN BLAIR, who imagined he carried the Republican party of Michigan in his preeches pocket, has just been defeated by a najority of fifty thousand, an increase of His own county has gone against him for the first time in years, as well as his own city of Jackson. And this is the last of him, too.

These, we say, have been the main issues, and on these the contest has turned. The attempts to divert attention to minor topics have utterly failed, proving how sensible are the American people. It has been charged ore than thirty-three thousand since 1870.

### Only a Quarter of a Million.

Pennsylvania has given a Republican majority of only a quarter of a million. . If Curtin had returned a few days sooner, and a few more reformers of the Morehead, McClure, good as a feast, and so we must be satisfied with what we have, and hope for better things next time!

Prof. J. E. M. Gilliard, of San Francisco, formerly of Baltimore, will lecture in the M street Bethel Church, subject, "The future of the colored American in the United States," on Monday evening next. Admission 25 cents. We find Prof. Gilliard's lecture highly spoken of in the California papers, and we can promise from the criticisms allied themselves to the Democratic party."

We turn now from the personalities and rectiminations of the conflict, so happily ended, to the less exciting political issues of this new quadrennium. May we not welcome back some of those few honest though mistaken Republicans who have temporarily allied themselves to the Democratic party." a very entertaining evening to all who will avail themselves of this opportunity. His effort is spoken of by the Sacramento Bee as a fine literary effort and well delivered. Let there be a large audience.

TRUMBULL staked his all on securing a heralds his resumption of the editorial chair, Greeley-sorehead majority in the Illinois It says: Greeley-sorehead majority in the Illinois Legislature, and he has ingloriously failed. It contains an overwelming Republican majority, and of course he stands no more chance of being re-elected to the Senate than he does of being transported to heaven bodily. At the recent election his own city of Chicago, his own ward and his own election cago, his own ward and his own election precinct, as well as his own State, gave an increased majority against him. The people there know him!

Among the prominent "Liberal" leaders slain in battle whose names we neglected to record in our list of killed are those of Geo. W. Julian, of Illinois, and Gen. Ashley, of Ohio. There are several others of more or less prominence who fell in their efforts to revolutionize the Government. But those we have given are enough to serve as a warning for ambitious demagogues hereafter.

#### The Nation's Edicts.

We have gained the victory-an overwhelming and most glorious victory—and now we ask what it means. Such a campaign as this decides some things; for there has been a thorough canvass, and the people (which are a very sensible people) have deliberately expressed judgment which are its edicts. Such a majority as this, which sweeps every Northern State, without exception, even including New York, New Jersey, and Oregon, which four years ago went for Seymour; and even Southern States which we had quite despaired of—such a majority is not to be trifled with. We cannot count it up now, for as we write the returns have just begun to come in; but we understand what

When the Independent put General Grant in nomination for re-election, nearly a year and a half ago, the measure seemed almost rash. But we had studied General Grant, and thought we knew him; and we knew what had been the solid merits of his administration. His shrewd sense, his honesty, and, above all, the sound policy of his admin-istration made us tender to overlook some mistakes of his own or of his advisers; and every day since June 1, 1871, has enhanced our confidence in the wisdom of our act The people have seen Grant as we have seen him, and in electing him have published some Those edicts are three—touching the three

Those edicts are three—touching the three questions of future policy which have been before the American people:

1. The American people decree that the rights of the enfranchised negroes must and shall be preserved. This battle we have fought through with the sword, never for an instant shrinking under the darkest discouragement. Now that the slaves are free and enfranchised, we will not allow ourselves to be cajoled into sleep while maintaining their rights. The people do not believe their rights. The people do not believe that the Democratic party is honest in its professions. It remembers that the so-called New Departure was inaugurated by Vallandigham, the rankest Copperhead in the North,

dignam, the rankest Copperhead in the North, and avowedly from no principle whatever beyond the seven principles of the loaves and the fishes. It has seen the Democratic party uttering a lie at Baltimore, in pretending to accept the amendments, though never acting that lie in one Southern State. Could Party Lieura have believed in their beauty Republicans have believed in their honesty, they would have thanked God and clasped some Southern States, under Republican rule. We know that; but it is an incident which cannot be helped. The remedy is as local as the evil. The only cure is education. If the negroes are ignorant and easily duped, then give them schools, teach them to think for themselves. Meanwhile, they must be protected in their right to act unwisely. The people have seen with indignation their old and trusted leader, the *Tribune*, utterly misrepresenting the Southern sentiment, and endeavoring to throw discredit upon the laws which enforce the amendments. The national

edict is that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments shall be a buckler and a lash. 2. The American people decree that President Grant's plan of civil service shall be fairly tried. Will politicians please take notice of this emphatic edict? The politicians do not believe in it. Courses does not believe in it. But Grant believes in it; and, therefore, the people believe in him. And the people are stronger than Congress and the politicians, and we warn Congress and the politicians, and we warm members of Congress that, if they sellishly shrink from giving up their spoils and refuse to support the President by appropriate legis-lation, they shall have no mercy from us or from the people. No issue has been more distinct than this. Grant's position was well known and so was Greelev's notwithwell known, and so was Greeley's, notwith-standing his evasions. The people knew that Mr. Greeley quarreled with Grant for no other reason than because he was not consulted in reference to minor political appointments. It was an empty quarrel about spoils. It disgusted the President and taught him a better way; but it taught Horace Greeley nothing but revenge. Carl Schurz asked him categorically if he was in favor of civil service reform; and his only answer was that service reform; and his only answer was that service reform; and his only answer was that the one-term principle would secure that—a falsehood which the slightest consideration of Presidential history might correct. Having refused to commit himself to Mr. Schurz, he readily committed himself by speech and letter to the Democrats, in so many words, promising them their share of offices in case of his election. The people knew that his election would bury this reform out of sight. Therefore have they given this edict.

3. The American people decree also that

3. The American people decree also that the President shall be sustained in his humane and Christian Indian policy. Hitherto the Indians have been shamefully treated by our Government. We have made treaties and failed to keep them. We have paid for the best supplies and sent them the worst We have robbed them and murdered them and sold their captive children as slaves, and then been astonished that they should fight and soid their captive children as siaves, and then been astonished that they should fight. We have suffered the consequences. The Sloux war of 1865 withdrew eight thousand soldiers from the suppression of the rebel-lion, and cost us over a million dollars and the lives of twenty white men for every Indian the lives of twenty white men for every Indian killed. Now, not over five thousand Indians are hostile, and they have begun to learn that the pledges of the United States were not made to be broken. This has been Grant's own work, his pet measure—a measure which every Greeley paper has ridiculed and threatened to overthrow. But the American people indorse it and decree its continuance.

These, we say, have been the main issues, and on these the contest has turned. The

and with truth-that good taste would have dictated the appointment of fewer relatives to office; it has been charged that Murphy, though an excellent collector, was not a cu tured gentleman; and that Grant has made several other mistakes. But these charges have been condemned by an overwhelming and Grow stamp had taken the stump against Gen. Grant it would possibly have reached half a million. But they say enough is as a first and so we must be satisfied mand the Indians to the trading harpies, the civil service to huckstering politicians, and the negroes to masked Ku-Klux, just because a brother-in-law is collector in New Orleans and one of Conklin's retainers, instead of one of Fenton's, was collector in New York. The American people have the sense of proportion.

We turn now from the personalities and

Mr. Greeley's announcement of his return to the Tribune is not very satisfactory to the New York Times. It does not altogether like the bantering vein in which he

candor; pledges himself to keep his lips closed on 'universal amnesty and impartial suf-frage;' vows he will 'never again be a canlade; Yows he will never again be a can-didate for any office;' hopes that he will 'not be provoked to indulgence in those bitter personalities which are the recognized bane of journalism,' and declares that for the future he will devote his journal to 'science, indus-try, and the useful arts.'
"If Mr. Greeley flatters himself that this

If Mr. Greetey flatters himself that this hodge-pledge of impudence, mock modesty, flash philosophy, and Pecksniffin morality settles his account with the American people, and restores him, unchanged, to the position he once occupied, he is mistaken. It takes two parties to make such a bargain. Mr. Greeley has been decline with the while. Greeley has been dealing with the public now for many years, and during that period, and especially for the past twelve months, he has especially for the past twelve months, he has concerned himself with some of the dearest interests this nation has or can have; and he has shown that nothing was safe from his foolish and wicked ambition. He has under-taken to grasp power by calling into vicious activity the most dangerous elements in American politics. He found the passions of the robots drive out to the passions of the rebels dying out, and he awakened them with the hope of Democratic ascend-ency. He found the corruptionists all over the country cowered by the courageous expo-sure and overwhelming defeat Tammany had encountered, and he held out to them the encountered, and he held out to them the hope of regaining all the ground they had lost, and getting possession of the National Government besides. And this he did in the case of the rebels in the name of 'reconciliation,' and in the case of the corruptionists in the name of 'reform.' If he imagines he can dispel the memory of these facts by a ways of his editorial new and a flowish of wave of his editorial pen, and a flourish of pretentious promises about future 'independ-ence,' and 'fairness,' and 'regard to science, industry, and useful arts,' he immensely un-derrates the sense and honesty of the Amer-ican people."

# More Compliments to Colored

The Sun, of this city, has the following:

"The Epitomist is troubled, because, in the light of the Sum, Forten, Douglass, and other mulatto blatherskites, appear in their true character. The Epitomist says Forten is "one of the best educated orators" among the nigs. That may be so, but it looks as though the *Epitomist* even believed that nearly all the darkey orators are uneducated. The fact

the darkey orators are uneducated. The fact is thick skull and tough brain are not easily educated, and the Radical pets possess both blessings abundantly. That is why they all vote for thieves and scallawags."

The hero of Fishing Creek adheres to his consistency. He clings to the old plank of the Democratic platform, which was, according to Greeley, "hate niggers." Of the other plank we will not speak now. After such a salutation as that, we presume our colored citizens will have no greater refersuch a salutation as that, we presume our colored citizens will have no greater reference for the Greeleyites than before, "Darkey orators," "thick skulls," "tough brain." That is the genuine Democratic opinion of negroes. We freely confess that the mass of negroes of this country are ignorant. Two hundred years of Democratic bondage, in which Democratic forbede the victims to learn hands with Democrats. But they have seen the Georgia election; they know that the South is ready to disfranchise the blacks, if possible; and they are bound to protect them till they are able to protect themselves. There has been miserable misgovernment in some Southern States, under Republican wages, has compelled them to remain in igwhich Democrats forbade the victims to learn norance until the Democratic revolt to fasten perpetual bondage on them resulted in their liberation. Now they are merging from ignorance and barbarism more rapidly than any people on earth ever emerged from such a condition, and in acquiring education are proving themselves more apt than the white working class of the South.—Epitomist, Williamsport, Penn. unt'l the Den

SPEAKER BLAINE has the reputation of speaker blanks has the reputation of being a sagacious and fur-seeing politician, thoroughly understanding the art of laying his plans and organizing his forces so as to gain his end. Be this as it may, his speech last week, at the Cooper Institute, in this city, explaining the Fourteenth Amendment, and showing the rights and powers of the General Government under the smarted General Government under the amended Constitution, went to the very root of the matter in respect to the Democratic cry about "centralization." We quote a single

how it is that a government that has an arm long enough and strong enough to reach to the Mediterranean and snatch Martin Costa from the hands of the Austrian power, or take Dr. Houard from the hands of the Spanish Government, shall yet be told that, if you and I have our rights interfered with, our persons wronged, our property imperiled, on the soil of South Carolina or Alabama, the Federal Government must not be asked to interfere, because that would be destroying the great Democratic doctrine of self-government."

We confess ourselves to be in the same predicament. The tenth is the "The same

predicament. The truth is, the "Democratic doctrine of local self-government," which is simply Calhounism modernized, flies right in the face and eyes of the Constitution of the United States. It denies to the General Gov-ernment powers which are bestowed upon it by the express words of this Constitution. It theoretically dispossesses the nation of all right on its own soil to protect the guaranteed rights of its own citizens. The General Gov-ernment may do so everywhere else; but the moment it comes to act within the limits of its own jurisdiction then "local self-govern-ment" palsies its arm and turns it into a legal sham. Here the respective States have all the power, and the National Government has no power. This Democratic doctrine of State rights has no basis in the Constitution and none in common sense .- Independent.

-A Paris writer is authority for the following illustration of the rapidity with which Dumas the elder worked. The writer says that it was at his country villa, Monte Cristo, that Alex. Dumas wrote the majority of his later novels and one of his best was composed under rather curious circumstances. He was asked one day at dinner how much time h asked one day at dinner now much time in-would require to write a novel of four hun-dred pages. Seventy-two hours, answered Dumas. A wager was immediataly proposed and accepted, viz., that at the end of seventy-two hours he would not have completed a novel. Dumas called for pen and paper novel. Dumas called for pen and paper-four hundred pages were numbered out for him, and he began at the dinner table. With the exception of a few hours' repose he wrote incessantly, and before the time had expired, one of his most interesting novels, "The Chevalier of Maison Rouge," had received it a fluishing touch a finishing touch.